1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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621 The word *desa* is used to indicate three different notions. In the first place it designates the residential village lying within the *desa* gates on the south, east, and north sides and the Pandĕk River on the west side (where there was also such a *desa* gate in earlier times). In the second place it signifies the village authority, jointly exercised by the citizenry, inclusive of the *desa* officials. And in the third place it indicates every member of the village association.

The whole territory of the *desa*, whose boundaries on every side are carefully defined in the village constitution, is referred to as *payar*, *wĕwĕngkon*, *pĕrbumian desa*, or *palasan desa*. Inside the *pĕrbumian desa* lies the *payar* of the *desa* of Gumung, a daughter *desa* of Bungaya which does not have a *bale agung* of its own, though it does have a *pura desa*, a *pura puseh*, and a *pura dalĕm*. The Tĕngananese own a large share of the lands inside the *payar* of Gumung. These lands are held permanently under Tĕngananese right of disposal, but are operated by people of Gumung, who as a result are in something of a dependent position to the Tĕngananese. The people of Gumung are answerable for unpunished crimes committed within their *payar*. For the rest, however, Gumung has nothing to do with Tĕnganan. Its inhabitants perform *desa* services at Bungaya and participate in the *usaba* in the *bale agung* there. They owe no levies or services to the *desa* of Tĕnganan.

422 The *banjar* of Kĕstala also has a *payar* of its own, but the inhabitants do not own any of the lands there except their dwelling compounds, and work the *sawahs* owned by Tĕngananese. Persons from Kĕstala do own lands outside the village boundaries of Tĕnganan, however. Originally Kĕstala was intended as a border guard against Sibĕtan. Later Tĕnganan used the settlement as a place of exile for violators of the *desa adat* who could not be tolerated in the *banjar* of Pande. Administratively Gumung comes under Tĕnganan, and Kĕstala under Sibĕtan (which is to be changed, since the hamlet now falls under a different district head from the one over Tĕnganan).

The *desa* of Tĕnganan is clearly to be considered as one of the wealthiest in all of Bali. It has already been pointed out that it has at its disposition an extraordinarily large village territory. Most

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of the *sawahs* can be considered as communal lands, with a part of them being divided annually among the core villagers in the form of villager's shares, and the remainder used to cover offering expenses. Besides the agrarian holdings the two series of graveyards (*sĕma*) to the east and the west of the eastern *desa* gate attract special attention. They all belong to the *desa*, though the names *sĕma tĕruna* and *sĕma dĕha* (also called *pĕbajangan*) might lead one to suspect that the boys' and girls' associations owned their own graveyards.

Tĕnganan's forum is the *bale agung*. As elsewhere in southern Bali, the long pavilion is used for religious purposes,[1] but in Tĕnganan village meetings are held there as well. True, such meetings must also be considered more or less as religious ceremonies, both because of the ritual followed and because of the religious task of the *desa*, but when the occasion presents itself secular affairs, too, are discussed there. In Tĕnganan, as in other villages in Karangasĕm, the gigantic pavilion, which is also called *pura pusĕh*, is a very model of sound construction. The stone foundation is no less than one hundred sixty-five feet long and sixteen feet wide. The heavy sugar-palm fibre roof rests on twenty-eight massive columns joined together by crossbeams. Above one of these beams there is a carving of a seated animal figure, and underneath it a chronogram (*chandra sĕngkala*) with the caption: "Completed this day, Wednesday-Wage of the week of Mĕnahil, the sixth day of the tenth month, 1806 *Çāka*". The pavilion was rebuilt forty-three years after the great fire mentioned in the village constitution and eight years after the second fire of 1798 *Çāka* (1876 A.D.), and so is almost fifty years old. Neither the woodwork nor the roof has needed any repair in that period. A part of the pavilion, between the third and fifth pair of columns, is partitioned off as a storeroom (*gĕdong bale agung*), but the walls are removable and are taken out for meetings. At such times all the *desa* possessions stored there are put out on display, and it is there that the *desa* officials are seated. The *desa* possessions consist of the various requisites for offerings and tobacco, but also, and more particularly, of the *desa* strongboxes (*biduk*) filled to the brim with coins, and

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is called a *pulangan*. Each *pulangan* has a *klihan desa* at its head, who in that function is called *klihan pulangan;* in each *pulangan* there are also a *klihan luanan*, functioning as *subak*, and two *tambĕlapus*, with the office of *saya*. Despite the fact that there is no *de ngijĕng* at present, one of the groups, now eighteen men strong, is called the *pulangan ijĕng*. 623

The other five *pulangans* meet at the compound of their *subak*, but the *pulangan ijĕng* convenes in the *bale agung*, where the now-invisible *ijĕng* is considered to be seated beside the deity, and a *sĕmbah* is made to him before the meeting begins. Each of the *pulangans* has its own meeting day. A substitute can be sent to the meeting, provided the substitute is a *desa* member. At the meetings it is discussed how best to perform the duties charged upon the *pulangan* by the *desa* meeting or council. The *pulangans* are responsible for maintaining the *desa* buildings, in particular the *bale agung;* among the tasks involved are those of re-roofing the smaller buildings and of keeping the *bale agung* and the *pura kubu langlang* clean. If an important decision is to be taken in the *desa*, all six of the *pulangans* are assembled together. 623 565

Anyone who gives careful consideration to this whole administrative complex will have to admit that mutual consultation would seem to have been given a larger rôle in Tĕnganan than perhaps anywhere else in the world, and that there is not the least reason to fear a reign of terror on the part of the *desa* council. This becomes all the more evident when it is recalled that the *desa* administration is in turn closely interconnected with those of the young people's associations and the *banjars*, and that the administration of justice in the *desa* is surrounded by an ample number of guarantees. 571 623

The *desa* of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan has a large source of income at its disposal. It is a principle that all property, movable and immovable alike, is held under the terms of the *druwe desa*, the Tĕngananese right of disposal. If the *desa* is in need of something it has only to take it. If a guest of the *desa* must be presented a meal, there is always a sufficient store of rice in the *desa* granary, 421 181

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421 181 while the first chicken to hand may be caught and prepared to set before the guest, without a protest from the owner. Naturally, an effort is made not always to confiscate the same person's property in order to meet the *desa*'s needs, and no more may ever be taken than is strictly necessary.

421 The right of disposal over the ground finds recognition in the contribution of a hundred doits which non-Tĕngananese are required to pay in the month of Desta if they collect windfall fruit of certain protected trees (*kayu larangan*) in the *desa* territory. Members of the *desa* themselves pay thirty-three doits per year for the *kayu larangan* on their compounds.

782 651 In the month of Kapitu every compound in Tĕnganan except those in the *banjar* of Pande has to provide an *achi n karang*, an offering which consists of a quantity of prepared rice eight hundred doits in weight, plus sixty-six doits in cash. Failure to comply leads to a fine of two thousand doits, which is used for buying pigs. There is also a *sawah* tax, *pĕti*, which is collected at the end of the month of Kalima, after which the taxpayers are given a feast.

Some levies are not paid by all inhabitants each year, but only by part of them. For this purpose the inhabitants are divided in groups called *dampukans*. Among the levies provided *dampukan* by *dampukan* in rotation are a pastry offering for the purification ceremony in the month of Kaulu and an amount of uncooked rice, coconuts, and other produce in the month of Kapitu. The decorations for the offering *bales* are also provided by each of the *dampukans* in turn, since the temples have no ceremonial cloths or other property of their own.

652 A large part of the *desa*'s income is derived from the *chariks achi*, the complexes of communally owned offering *sawahs* left over after the members of the *desa* have each received their proper amount of ground (*charik bukti*). These *sawahs* are rented out on shares. The yield falling to a core villager from his *bukti* also reverts to the *desa* if he has unseasonably lost his membership.

Another important source of income is the amount collected in fines. The fines are very heavy, and some have to be paid in instalments for the rest of one's life. All fines are paid at the *desa*

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meeting except instalments of a life-long fine, which are collected at home.

The services requisitioned by the *desa* are almost all of them connected with religious matters. The preparation of the offerings demands a great deal of work, which must be done by the male members of the *desa*. A person who fails to fulfil his duty is fittingly punished, and even those who are prevented by illness from performing their services are confined to their homes for three days. The men also have the duty of appearing with their fighting cocks on certain occasions, and the women *desa* members are required to rear pigs to be sold to the *desa* for fixed low prices in order to be used in the purification rites.

These duties of *desa* membership are counterbalanced by certain advantages. Everyone who takes an active part in the *desa* offering ceremonies enjoys the yield from a *bukti*. The *desa* members, including the officials, have a different share each year; the plots for the others are fixed *sawahs*. Since the number of core villagers is variable, the number of *buktis* differs from year to year, and hence also the number of plots left over as *chariks achi*.

Each of the *pĕngluduhans* except the newest pair has as his share two and a half plots, while the two most recent *pĕngluduhans* have four plots each for the first year. *Desa* members of the higher ranks also have four plots each. The shares are reapportioned each year on the first day of Kasanga, the ninth month. On this date the *desa* members gather in front of the *bale agung*, where the *klihans bahan* sketch a rough map of the *buktis* and in order of seniority the members make their choice. (Nowhere else on Bali is a map used in this way.)

A newly married person does not receive a share until the next apportionment, while if, as a result of the marriage of a child, a man loses his *desa* membership before the rice is ripe, he forfeits his right to his yield, which instead goes to the *desa* treasury. Consequently most marriages take place in the month of Kasa, when the rice is golden yellow in the fields – this in contrast to the rest of Bali, where marriages usually take place after the harvest, because there is then money for the wedding.

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624 421 In conclusion, then, it can be said that the income of the *desa* officials is strictly limited, while the entire income of the *desa* is devoted to the *desa* offerings on the basis of a detailed budget. Hence I fail to see how anyone could accuse the village authorities of self-interest in punishing *adat* transgressions.

2

The Police

181 626 Every offence committed within the village territory is looked upon as prejudicial to the community, and for this reason the *desa* officials take action against such offences even when no complaint has been lodged.

It should be pointed out that every member of the *desa* is expected to look after the welfare of the community, and hence that all villagers must act as *tĕlik tanĕm*, 'village spies'.[4] Anyone reporting a transgression to the *bahan* is given a reward from the village treasury amounting to half of the fine placed on the transgression. The name of the informant remains secret. If the accused denies the charge, he is required to swear on oath to that effect beneath the tamarind tree.

625 In two particular fields there are functionaries with special policing powers. Supervision over the *kayu larangan*, various types of trees which it is prohibited to cut down or pick the fruits or nuts of, is exercised by the *kĕbayan tahak*, who must give permission for each exception to the prohibition. On the eastern mountain slope there are an unusual sort of forest rangers, the *lĕlipi sĕlĕm bukit*, 'king cobras', who guard against clandestine opening up of land or picking of fruits.

3

Judicature

69 None of the Tĕngananese village institutions has been so disrupted in the past decade as the uniquely organized and prudently operating judicial system. Let us, then, begin by describing the

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

It came about in this way: the Tjokordā, prince of the district, was waging war on the region to the south of Sajan. He was victorious, and the inhabitants fled, leaving the country deserted. Krèbèk, the fourth son of Géwar, was sent away by the Tjokordā to Bandjar Toenon, in the conquered district, as a settler. He was given a grant of land, and therefore did not succeed to any of his father's lands in Sajan.

The fifth son, Siboh, who might have been expected to inherit the paternal house, was married as a sentanā, and moved away to the house of his father-in-law in Bandjar Mas, thereby forfeiting his claim. And so it was that the third son, Klepoeg, was the only one left to inherit the house of Géwar. His two elder brothers already had houses of their own, and his two younger brothers had departed from the bandjar before their father's death.

Now Klepoeg had the house, and he took two wives, but he had no children. This was an important matter not only to him, but to the entire family. For although each pekarangan must contain its individual household temple, the sanggah of the paternal house is larger, and all the children and grandchildren feel a responsibility for keeping up this parent-temple, whence their own house-temples spring. Surely the spirit of the forefathers is more powerful there! And so an heir must be found for Klepoeg, who has inherited the house of Géwar and become guardian of his sanggah. The eldest brother, Bedil, who has already three daughters, hands over to Klepoeg his first-born son, at the age of three months. This child, who is Gari, still lives in the house of Géwar. He has inherited his grandfather's house, not as the child of the eldest son, but as the adopted child of the youngest son who remained at home.

The house in which Bedil lived has passed on to his younger son Darià, who lives there now with his wife and four children (House 3).

It is difficult to trace the inheritance of property other than the dwelling house. For the ricefields are loaned, mortgaged, paid for in labor, or held by a system of tenantry with a sharing of the crops, all arrangements made between individuals, rarely with a written agreement. Within the family land is loosely held, and a man will speak of as his all property belonging to himself and his brothers, even of his cousins. Princes claim as theirs land which may have been given as a grant by their father or grandfather in return for services already rendered, or else let out on a crop-sharing basis, or even land originally owned by the commoner, but which the prince has planted with lines of his own coconut trees between the fields. The Balinese have an extraordinary memory for their relative indebtedness to every individual of their acquaintance, and the balance of favors given and

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received swings back and forth through the generations. But all the same, when quarrels arise, the present government has difficulty in settling the ownership of property to which one man may hold the deed,[4] whereas another has been farming it and paying the taxes on it for ten or fifteen years.

In the case of Rendah and his two surviving brothers, the ricefields of their father are supposed to have been divided between them. Rendah, as the eldest, claims to have got a larger share than Mertă and Dog. Now Mertă maintains a separate household, whereas Dog lives in the house of Rendah, and has no child (except the daughter of Rendah whom he has adopted). Rendah says that two-thirds of the land belongs to him, but that as the land is all lumped together, and worked chiefly by Mertă and Dog, they divide the crops between the two households, that of Mertă and that of Rendah, which includes Dog. Rendah's household consists of six adults and five children, Mertă's of two adults and seven children. "If he has not got enough rice, I give it to him, whereas if I am lacking, he gives to me," says Rendah. Hence we assume that the division of the crop is done on a friendly basis according to necessity, and if Rendah's household should diminish through the death of the old mother and sister, or the marriage of his daughters, and Mertă's increase with the birth of more children, the ratio could be proportionately altered. But it is hard to tell, when Rendah says he owns two-thirds of the land, whether this is really all his, or whether he is counting with his own Dog's share, since Dog is in the position of a dependent in his household. In this case it is of no particular importance, as Dog has no son to inherit from him.

It will be noted that of the eleven marriages recorded in Rendah's generation, only two were polygynous. Njadet married Dartă, and having no children by her, took his paternal parallel second cousin Njambléh, who gave him one daughter. When she grew up, a sentană marriage was arranged with her cousin Keroenă, who is related to her both on her mother's and on her father's side (fig. 1, II). In the son of this marriage, Njadet has at last got his heir to carry on the line. The other marriage of two wives was when Soewakă, who, as sentană husband to Metoe, had only a daughter, wedded his second cousin Méweh as a second wife, and by her got four sons.

In the preceding generation Klepoeg and Krèbèk had each two wives.

[4] The deed, called pipil, is in writing, engraved upon a leaf of the tal palm. It is tucked away in a safe place, and forgotten. In the case of land which I rented, the search for the pipil lasted six weeks. It was finally discovered in a roof-bamboo of the house of the paternal second-cousin of the "owner."